

CONFERENCE

ON

THE DEVELOPMENT AND UTILIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL SKILLS

(Second Session\*)

APRIL 28, 1983  
9:30 a.m.

Sponsored by:

THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

and

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON

FOREIGN LANGUAGE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Washington, D. C.  
Old Executive Office Building, Room 208  
The White House

\*The first session took place on March 11, 1982.

AGENDA

Better International Skills Conference  
Room 208, Old Executive Office Building  
The White House  
April 28, 1983

9:30 A.M.	Welcome	Dr. Richard S. Beal Special Assistant to the President
9:45	Task Force Report: Background and Rationale for the Proposal	Dr. Robert E. Ward Stanford University
	Agenda Paper:	Proposal for the Establishment of a National Council on International Research and Manpower (Distributed in advance).
10:15	Coffee Break	Room 208/Ante Room, Old Executive Office Building
10:30	Discussion	Task Force Members and Conference Participants
12:15 P.M.	Lunch	Indian Treaty Room, Room 474 Old Executive Office Building
1:00	Remarks and Future Agenda	Conference Participants
2:30	Conference Adjourns	

PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A  
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH AND MANPOWER

SUMMARY

A March 1982 conference of twelve international agencies of the Federal Government, including the White House and representatives of eleven major universities established a Task Force and charged it with devising a plan for the establishment of a National Council on International Research and Manpower. The resulting plan is described in detail in the attached proposal (page references are to that document). This longer account may be summarized as follows.

The proposal calls for the establishment of two interactive bodies: 1) An academic National Council on International Research and Manpower. This would be a consortium of nineteen leading American research universities (listed on p. 6) headed by a council of their presidents, and administered by experienced and prominent scholars of international affairs; 2) A federal interagency Council on International Research and Manpower, chaired and staffed by the National Security Council, and composed of high-ranking representatives of all federal agencies with substantial mandates in the field of foreign affairs.

These two bodies, working together, would:

- 1) Provide for the first time a systematic means of consultation and joint action by federal agencies and the university community on shared international interests.
- 2) Establish a national program of campus-based research on long term, international, policy-related issues on subjects and terms set jointly by the National and Federal Councils.
- 3) Provide a systematic means of consultation and planning with respect to the training, production, and use of the international specialists increasingly needed by both federal agencies and the private international sector.

Where funding is concerned, the Congress has asked to be informed of the requirements "for a national research resource base which promotes the study and understanding of foreign languages and nations..." Accordingly, it will be asked to provide an annual appropriation for the National and Federal Councils (see pp. 11-13).

The following factors recommend the proposal in terms of federal interests:

- 1) The universities possess collectively by far the greatest aggregation of international resources and skills in the country. In areas other than science and technology, this enormous national resource is now being utilized in only minor and fragmentary fashion. It is in the national interest to make more efficient use of these neglected academic resources along these lines.
- 2) Since the 1960's there has been a continuous and severe decline in funding for advanced research and training in the international field, and a parallel decline in the numbers and average quality of new professional entrants to the field. This will affect adversely the manpower problems of the federal international agencies unless the government now takes measures of this sort to prevent it.
- 3) The federal international agencies will benefit from external assistance where their responsibility for the conduct of long-term, analytic, and trend-oriented research is concerned. At present the constant pressure of consumer demands for short-term information often leads to the slighting of this sort of research. The proposed program will identify a much broader spectrum of campus-based skills in this area and make more effective use of such external resources.
- 4) The program's costs are minimal and the potential benefit to the Government substantial.

In terms of academic interests the proposed program will:

- 1) Increase the opportunities for scholars to conduct a particularly useful form of research.
- 2) Improve the quality of training available to graduate students by associating them systematically with projects funded by this program.
- 3) Encourage interdisciplinary and collaborative research, since policy-relevant problems frequently require these modes of investigation.
- 4) Make a modest contribution to the costs of maintaining expensive and specialized programs of international training and research on campus.
- 5) Provide more general and more effective access to the policy determining process for scholarly research findings than is presently the case.

The National and Federal councils would operate in two different modes: 1) Research and training (see pp. 8-10); 2) Manpower and consultation (see pp. 10-11). In the former the National and Federal Councils would meet annually to determine an agenda of

mutually desirable international or foreign area research fields or broad topics that relate to the basic interests of the United States and American scholarship, and to review the record of the preceding year's performance from the standpoint of the interests of both Councils. On the basis of this agenda the National Council would conduct a national competition among qualified university-based scholars. The research involved could be conducted either domestically or abroad. Awards would be made solely on the basis of scholarly quality, promise, and relevance to the research agenda. The Council would not fund classified research. The products of the research would be publishable in normal academic fashion. They would also be made systematically available to all interested federal agencies. A training function for graduate students would be built into the awards wherever possible. Extensive provision would be made for the protection of both federal and academic interests (see pp. 13-16).

In the second or "manpower and consultation" mode of operation, the National Council, depending on the subject matter involved, would either serve itself as the immediate representative of the academic community's interests in conducting discussions with federal representatives or would arrange for some more appropriate academic representation. Examples of subjects meriting this sort of attention would be the quality of university-based instruction in foreign languages and its suitability to government needs, especially where the more difficult languages (Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, etc..) are concerned; ways of acquiring, maintaining and updating foreign area skills where federal employees are concerned; or the effective use of specialized international skills in governmental service.

Pending Congressional action on funding the activities of the two Councils, the academic group involved is exploring the availability of start-up funds from a major foundation. The prospect is, should the federal agencies so desire, that it would be possible to establish in the near future both its Council of Presidents and Board of Trustees as a means of conducting more detailed discussions with agency representatives.

Proposal  
for the Establishment of  
A National Council on International Research and Manpower

On March 11, 1982 representatives of twelve federal agencies with international responsibilities met for a full day with a group of eleven specialists in international relations from as many major American universities to explore ways in which the international resources and skills of American universities could be more effectively and systematically related to the research and manpower needs of the federal government in a manner equally beneficial to the longterm interests of both parties. The federal agencies involved were the White House, the Departments of State, Commerce, and Education, the International Communications Agency, the Agency for International Development, the National Security Council, the Air Force, the Intelligence Community, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, and the Defense Intelligence Agency. The eleven universities were Brandeis, California (Berkeley), Columbia, Georgetown, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Stanford, Wisconsin, and Yale. Participating also were representatives of the Senate's Select Committee on Intelligence, the Association of American Universities, the International Research and Exchanges Board, the National Council for Foreign Language and International Studies, the National Council for Soviet and East European Research, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

There was unanimous agreement among this group that there is sufficient commonality of interests and needs in the international area to merit the creation of a means to insure regular and systematic exploration of shared problems and to initiate solutions therefor. The group also concluded that this process might best begin with the subjects of campus-based research on international policy issues of importance both to the federal government and to the advancement of scholarship, and with the closely associated matter of producing and training new cohorts of specialists capable of meeting increasing governmental and private sector needs for foreign language and international skills, i.e. the manpower problem.

The following factors argue in favor of this approach. Where the government is concerned:

- There has seldom been a time when the country has faced as many or more serious international problems and challenges. In coming decades these are likely to

increase in number and complexity. This is true in the private as well as the public sector, and in the civil as well as the military spheres of government.

- The conduct of our foreign relations--and, by logical extension, the insurance of an adequate national stock of competencies and skills to enable us to conduct these relations effectively--is a central constitutional power and responsibility of the Federal Government. It is not, however, an exclusive concern. The Administration, through its "New Federalism" policy, has been calling for increased cooperation with state and local governments and with the private sector. The proposed program would be a useful and positive step in that direction.
- The universities of the United States possess collectively by far the greatest aggregation of international resources and skills in the country, but this enormous national resource is now being utilized in only minor, haphazard, and fragmentary fashion.
- Since the late 1960s there has been a continuous and severe decline in funding for advanced research and training in international affairs, and a parallel decline in the numbers and the average quality of new professionals entering the field. This has already affected replacements and, if allowed to continue, will seriously damage our national stock of international resources and skills.
- The budget priorities of the 1970s put severe constraints on any increases in foreign affairs manpower in federal agencies, even as international challenges grew in scale and complexity. This program would provide skilled external assistance to the government in meeting these challenges.
- Even at times of fuller funding, the international research agencies of the federal government have often had to slight long-term research and analysis in favor of keeping abreast of seemingly more urgent short-term research needs and demands. The proposed program would be a major contribution to remedying this deficiency.

Where the universities are concerned:

- The importance of international and comparative factors to teaching and research in all fields of the social sciences and humanities has increased steadily and enormously since World War II. This program would support and enhance research and teaching of this sort.

- Scholars of international affairs have long emphasized the importance of interdisciplinary knowledge and skills to work in this field. High-quality, policy-relevant research in almost every case requires an interdisciplinary approach. It should benefit both research and training in the international field.
- While never a really major part of their teaching or research agenda, American universities did succeed in the 1960s and early '70s in building from scratch a number of excellent international teaching and research programs.
- This progress was made possible and sustained in critical part by external funding.
- With few and minor exceptions, this external funding is now no longer available. Most universities are experiencing serious difficulties in providing adequate support for international studies as well as other needs, and the programs themselves are gradually beginning to decline in quality, in popularity, and in teaching and research capacities.
- It is in the interest of both the universities and the federal government that this decline be halted and reversed before it becomes more serious. Federal funding would assist greatly in the preservation of these programs.
- It is the purpose of this program to obtain such funding without damage to other federally funded, university-based, international programs and to do so on terms just as beneficial to the interests of American scholarship as to those of the federal government.

Where the private sector is concerned:

- The relations between the universities and that part of the private sector which conducts the nation's foreign business relations also leave a good deal to be desired. As the share of GNP attributable to exports steadily rises and foreign competition on our domestic market steadily increases, the national need for added knowledge of export markets and foreign competitors and the economic, financial, political and social factors that affect them grow correspondingly. Once more, we believe that these circumstances create the possibility of cooperation between the universities and the private sector on mutually beneficial terms. We propose to explore this possibility with leaders of the business community.

Against this background, the March 11 Conference agreed to constitute a small task force--co-chaired on the federal side by Dr. Richard S. Beal, Special Assistant to the President, and on the academic side by Dr. Robert E. Ward of Stanford University--and charged it with developing a plan for the improvement of cooperation between the international agencies of the federal government and the universities in the fields of long-term research and training on international issues of mutual interest and reporting the results to the entire group for its consideration and action. It was hoped that subsequent discussions could involve the international private sector as well.

In the sections that follow, the Task Force is recommending a plan of organization and procedure that differs in certain important respects from the normal type of federal program intended to provide governmental support for university-based programs in fields of national interest, at least where the social sciences and humanities are concerned. The difference resides particularly in two of the plan's principal characteristics: 1) the basic nature of the recommended relationship between the universities on the one hand and the international agencies of the federal government on the other, and 2) the fact that the actual administration of the research program involved would be entrusted to an essentially academic body rather than an agency of the federal government. Our reasons for recommending these arrangements are as follows.

First, the program is intended to establish a novel, collaborative, and mutually beneficial relationship between the government and the universities in a particularly sensitive field--policy-relevant international research. Given the uneven and, sometimes, antagonistic nature of some government-academic relations with respect to issues of national foreign policy that has existed since the Vietnam War, it seems essential in establishing this new and more constructive relationship to take unusual precautions to insure the protection of the legitimate interests of both parties. The Task Force has tried to do this in several ways: 1) by defining carefully what is meant by "policy-relevant research" in terms calculated to insure both its eminently scholarly and longterm nature and its utility to the international federal agencies, 2) by including in its recommendations a detailed list of measures calculated in practice both to protect and serve the legitimate interests of both parties (see pp. 13-16), and 3) by requiring a process of joint discussion and agreement between federal and academic representatives that would lead to the definition of broad research fields or topics of mutual interest which would then become eligible for federal support through contractual arrangements approved by the government but administered by the academics. An equal-level, consultative, and cooperative mechanism of this sort with initiative, authority, and, if necessary, a veto power on either side seemed essential in the

interests of both parties. The Task Force saw no possibility of realizing these aims in so sensitive a field in the absence of some new, more equal, and more collaborative federal-academic relationship of the sort we are now proposing.

Second, the proposed new National Council would be concerned with much more than policy-relevant research. Even more fundamental to the national interest is the entire question of the training and production in adequate numbers of manpower with the international skills that the country increasingly needs. The problems involved are numerous and complex. They require systematic longterm cooperation among the universities, the federal government, and the private sector. All these interests should be deeply and continuously involved. The Task Force hopes that the proposed National Council would provide a new and effective means of initiating and maintaining the necessary discussions among these sectors. Once again, it seemed that the proper format is the sort of equal-level, collaborative mechanism described below, rather than one in which initiative and control reside exclusively or primarily with the federal government. The former not only recognizes more adequately the contributions, dignity, and roles of the universities and the private sector in resolving the manpower issue, but also is apt to be more productive in practice.

Third, the Task Force believes that it would be useful to experiment with more effective forms of academic-government interaction than have existed in the past. One major problem has been the absence of any continuous or systematic means of conducting serious discussions on shared problems or concerns in the international area between the federal government and the universities. In the absence of such means the probability of the emergence of less rational and less attractive alternatives is bound to be greater. The Task Force hopes that the proposed National Council could become a sort of continuing forum for the timely discussion of internationally related problems between the government and the universities. Through its Council of Presidents, its Board of Trustees, or more ad hoc bodies, it offers a variety of possibilities of this sort. This function too, however, would be best served by the sort of equal-level, collaborative arrangements described below.

Finally from an academic standpoint, the Task Force concluded that the most convincing assurance that could be offered of the scholarly integrity and bona fides of the proposed program would be to specify that it should actually be administered by distinguished working scholars selected from a representative variety of international fields. This is the role of the Board of Trustees described below. Additional protection is provided by an Advisory Group.

#### I THE ACADEMIC DIMENSION:

The Task Force recommends the following plan for the

establishment of a National Council on International Research and Manpower (NCIRM):

The National Council on International Research and Manpower is a federally and privately funded, non-profit, autonomous, academic corporation situated in and established under the laws of the District of Columbia. Its purposes are: 1) To develop and maintain continuously a program of advanced research on foreign and international matters of a political, economic, social, cultural, or historical nature that relate to the basic and longterm interests of American scholarship and the United States; 2) To encourage and assist through its research programs the training of younger scholars and graduate students and thus contribute to the maintenance of an adequate national supply of international skills in the future; and 3) To provide a means for initiating periodic discussions and suggesting joint actions with respect to areas of shared interest and concern in the international sphere among the Federal Government, the private sector, and the universities.

The National Council on International Research and Manpower is a tripartite body composed of a Council of Presidents, a Board of Trustees, and an Advisory Group.

The Council of Presidents:

Basic authority and responsibility inhere collectively in the Council of Presidents. This body consists of the presidents (in a few cases chancellors or provosts) of the following nineteen major research universities: California (Berkeley and Los Angeles), Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Georgetown, Harvard, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Stanford, Texas, Washington, Wisconsin (Madison), and Yale. This Council will appoint a small Executive Committee from among their own numbers and maintain a presence in Washington, D. C. The Executive Committee, with the approval of the Council, will appoint a Board of Trustees that will, on the Council's behalf, perform the operating functions described below.

The Board of Trustees:

The Board of Trustees will be composed of distinguished scholars with extensive professional experience in the fields of area or international studies. The Executive Committee of the Council of Presidents will select the members of the Board of Trustees with a view to maintaining representation on the Board of scholars specializing in each of the eight major world areas (Western Europe, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, East Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, South Asia, Latin America, Southeast Asia, and Africa south of the Sahara) and a similar number of major international issues or problems that transcend specific world areas such as security, arms control, development, international trade, or general problems that affect research and

training in the field such as language and area skills, etc. Trustees will serve three-year terms, so staggered that about one-third of the terms expire each year. No Trustee may serve more than two consecutive terms in office. All Trustees shall serve as individual scholars and not as representatives of their home institutions. They may be selected from the faculty of any accredited American University. The Trustees shall establish programs and National Council policies; conduct the National Council's relations with the Federal Government, the private sector, and other external agencies; solicit, review, and select proposals for funding; appoint an Executive Director and the corporation's officers; establish and supervise the administration of the National Council's business; and in general determine, and be responsible to the Council of Presidents for the proper and efficient conduct of the National Council's affairs and the safeguarding of academic interests and values.

#### The Advisory Group:

The Advisory Group will consist of the following professional organizations: the Social Science Research Council, American Council of Learned Societies, American Political Science Association, American Economic Association, American Historical Association, American Sociological Association, American Anthropological Association, American Society of International Law, International Studies Association, Council for European Studies, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Association for Asian Studies, Latin American Studies Association, African Studies Association, Middle East Studies Association, Modern Language Association, Linguistic Society of America, American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages, and the National Council of Overseas Research Centers. The Board of Trustees solicits and will welcome the advice of any of these member organizations with respect to the relationships between the National Council's Programs and the professional interests of the discipline or field represented by that organization. The Advisory group will also receive an annual report from the Board of Trustees setting forth a detailed description of the National Council's current programs and policies and a list of all projects funded. The National Council will be happy to supply this same report on request to any other interested professional association and to receive their comments.

#### II. THE FEDERAL DIMENSION:

It is proposed that the federal interest in this joint federal-academic venture be represented by a Federal Council on International Research and Manpower (FCIRM) composed of high-level representatives of: 1) all Executive Branch agencies with mandates relating in substantial part to international and foreign affairs, and 2) an appropriate committee of each House of Congress. This Council should be established by executive order and appropriate congressional action and should be chaired

and staffed by the National Security Council. Its purposes would be: 1) To explore from the federal standpoint the sorts of advanced academic research on foreign and international matters of a political, economic, social, cultural, or historical nature that would relate to the basic and longterm interests of the United States; 2) To explore the present and prospective needs of the federal government and the nation for an adequate supply of trained manpower with the linguistic and substantive skills essential to the effective conduct of our international relations; 3) To serve as the federal counterpart to the university-based National Council on International Research and Manpower, and initiate and conduct the federal part of the relationships between the National and Federal Councils; 4) To provide through Congressional appropriations or through agency support for the funding of mutually approved programs; and 5) To provide a means for initiating periodic discussions and suggesting joint actions with respect to these and other areas of shared interest and concern in the international sphere among the Federal Government, the private sector, and the universities.

Where the membership of the Federal Council is concerned, the principle of widespread involvement by civilian as well as military agencies of the federal government is of fundamental importance to the success of this venture. From the academic standpoint this will underscore the fact that the research involved is longterm and scholarly in nature. From the federal standpoint it will recognize the fact that the governmental interests involved are overarching and general in nature rather than specific to any one agency or group of agencies.

The Task Force also believes that in operational terms it is very important that a multi-agency venture of this sort have the status and influence that in practice flows only from a direct association with the White House. In this context the National Security Council seemed the most appropriate choice to house and staff the proposed Federal Council.

### III. MODES OF OPERATION:

The Task Force recommends two principal modes of operation where the programs and interactions of the Federal Council and the National Council are concerned: 1) a research and training mode, and 2) a manpower and consultative mode.

1. Research and Training Mode: Research and training are envisaged as substantially overlapping functions. A training component will be built in to many research projects, thus assuring that this aspect of the program will contribute to the nation's longterm manpower needs as well as its research needs. Accordingly, in this mode the National and Federal Councils will operate in the following manner.

Once a year the National Council's Board of Trustees will meet with the Federal Council to: 1) consult and agree upon

international or foreign area research fields or broad topics of a political, economic, social, cultural, or historical nature that relate to the basic and longterm interests of American scholarship and of the United States; and 2) review the record of the past year's performance from the standpoint of the interests of both Councils. The fields and broad topics agreed upon at this annual meeting must possess the following characteristics: 1) be longterm in nature and not time-bound in the sense of trying to provide tactical answers to immediate or imminent policy problems; 2) be as much concerned with why and in what patterns developments occur as with descriptions of what happened; and 3) be policy relevant in the sense of providing a context of knowledge, insights, and perspectives of which policy makers should be aware when making policy decisions. The research involved may be conducted either domestically within the United States or, if the nature of the project makes it advisable, abroad. When agreement has been reached on these broad fields and topics, the Board of Trustees will incorporate the results in a research agenda which will define the subject matters eligible for funding on a competitive basis during the ensuing year. This research agenda will be widely publicized in academic circles and relevant research proposals will be solicited from qualified university-based scholars or groups of scholars. Proposals that are responsive to the research agenda will then be evaluated on a competitive basis by university-based reviewers selected solely for their professional knowledge of the fields concerned. The recommendations of the reviewers will then be passed on to the Board of Trustees which will make the final decision with respect to which projects are to be funded. Awards will be made solely on the basis of scholarly quality, promise, and relevance to the research agenda.

The National Council will welcome reasoned suggestions from scholars as to broad fields or topics that in their estimation should be considered for inclusion on the research agenda.

Awards will be made on a contractual basis between the National Council and the college or university by which the awardee is employed or otherwise formally associated. The National Council will administer separately its federal funds and any private sector funding that it may in the future receive. All relevant federal laws and regulations governing the expenditure of federal funds will be observed.

Awardees will be expected to provide the National Council with copies of a report setting forth in detail and in proper academic format the results and findings of their research. This should include a short executive summary highlighting the policy implications of the report. Great importance will be attached by the Council to the completion of the research and delivery of the report by the date agreed upon between the researcher and the National Council. The Council will make the research report and/or executive summary available to interested federal agencies. The Government will have the right to circulate these

documents within governmental circles, to draw upon them for internal analyses, and to publish them for non-commercial use in the form in which they are delivered by the National Council. The awardee will have the right to apply for and obtain copyright on his or her work funded by the Council and to publish the results in normal academic fashion.

2. Manpower and Consultative Mode: A second function of the National and Federal Councils is the provision of a systematic means of consultation about shared interests and problems among the international sectors of government, business, and the academic community. In this context no matter is of greater concern than the manpower problem. It has many dimensions ranging from the dangerously low level of understanding in many quarters of the actual national need for more and better international skills to the complexities of determining what sorts and how many particular skills are needed and for what purposes. In the past such questions have been posed only in the most episodic and partial terms and solutions left largely to the marketplace. The country can no longer afford so casual an approach. We need some more systematic and efficient means of considering in broad terms at least the types of international skills that are apt to be required by both the public and private sectors in years to come and the capacity of the universities to produce them.

A few examples may be helpful. Every recent study has emphasized the gross deficiencies of the American educational system where the teaching of foreign languages is concerned. The common languages are, on the average, poorly taught to small and decreasing numbers of students. Few pursue their study long enough to acquire any useful level of proficiency. We either lack or make no effective use of standardized national tests that would accurately evaluate varying levels of linguistic proficiency. Research on how to teach foreign languages more effectively lacks the funding that would make improvements possible. The more difficult foreign languages such as Russian, Chinese, Japanese, and Arabic are in even worse straits considering their importance to the national interest. Many years are required to achieve a useful level of fluency. Prolonged residence in the country concerned is essential but costly. And, since the number of students involved is small and the unit cost of instruction uneconomically high, the universities are progressively less able and less disposed to bear the financial burdens involved.

Beyond this lies the even more neglected problem of how to maintain a working level of skills and knowledge of a foreign language and culture once this has been initially obtained. Nothing could be more fallacious than the assumption: "Once an expert, always an expert"--especially where knowledge of rapidly changing foreign areas and societies is concerned. Yet in practice, systematic arrangements for the maintenance of hard-gained skills are both uncommon and minimal in content and

efficacy.

Finally, there is the question of how effectively our public and private sectors use the foreign language and international skills that are available to them. All too frequently one finds that the real career incentives involve the subordination of specialized expertise in favor of general administrative and supervisory skills. The obvious result is a constant loss of specialists to more general administrative careers and a damaging depreciation of the dignity and value of specialized skills.

These are all national manpower problems of great and increasing importance. Any reasonable and timely solution will require extended consideration and joint action on the part of the federal government, the private sector, and the universities. The National and Federal Councils in consultation--hopefully with the addition of private sector representation--would be a suitable means of initiating and conducting discussions on such issues. The National Council, operating through its Council of Presidents or its Board of Trustees, could readily arrange for whatever sorts or levels of academic representation the particular subject matter required.

3. Finances: The Task Force recommends that the federal and academic sponsors of the National Council on International Research and Manpower seek support for the Council's operations through a direct or indirect addition to the budget of the National Security Council (NSC). Given the lead time necessary to accomplish this, the Task Force also recommends that modest interim financing be provided by a Foundation or by the agencies comprising the Federal Council. These funds would be provided to a suitable institution (such as the National Council on Soviet and East European Research) to act as interim agent in establishing, incorporating, and sustaining the new National Council until it is ready to commence operations, as an independent legal entity. This would enable the academic and federal sponsors of this venture to consult and agree in advance on arrangements that would permit the earliest possible implementation of this plan once the necessary approvals have been received from the Office of Management and Budget and the Congress.

Thereafter, it is anticipated that NSC, acting for the Federal Council, would negotiate a master contract with the Board of Trustees of the National Council setting forth the substantive, financial, and procedural relationships that will prevail between the Federal Council on the one hand and the National Council on the other. Finally, the relationships between the National Council and its grantees would similarly be regulated by individual contracts between the National Council's Board of Trustees on the one hand and the universities with which the grantees are affiliated on the other.

The Task Force would like to make three further points with

respect to finances. One relates to the benefits involved on both sides of this financial relationship. On the academic side these are fairly obvious: much-needed support for longterm, policy-relevant research of the sort described earlier; a new, promising, and institutionalized means of conferring with the federal government about shared problems and interests in the field of international training and manpower; and improved and more constructive relationships between academia and the federal government in general. On the federal side all of the benefits may not be quite so obvious. Both the government in general and the individual international agencies will be receiving through the research program substantial amounts of new policy-relevant information and insights of a sort that is presently not available to them on any remotely comparable scale. This would, consequently, increase greatly the number and diversity of scholars conducting policy-relevant international research who are known to the international agencies of the government. Similarly, the government stands to benefit, as does academia, from the more cordial and constructive mutual relationships that should result from the proposed arrangements. The greatest and most enduring value from the federal standpoint, however, is the opportunity that the National Council will afford for systematic and continuing joint efforts to insure an adequate supply of international skills to meet the government's recruiting needs in years to come. Nothing is more vital to the effective conduct of our foreign relations. The National Council would make available for the first time an institutionalized means for the government and the universities to work together in devising solutions to this problem.

The Task Force would like to advance a second thought with respect to the benefits involved in this financial arrangement. It takes the form of a caution to the academic contingent not to promise too much with respect to their prospective contribution to the national interest, and to the federal contingent to be realistic in their expectations on this score. The academic research involved will be longterm in nature. It is not going to resolve the immediate problems of foreign relations that are the principal preoccupation of the working level federal agencies and officials concerned. What it can and should provide, however, in Kenneth Prewitt's words is: "a contribution to general policy formulations by resting them on a deeper understanding of the modern world, how it came to be, its intrinsic limitations and possibilities, and its probable development." If this is done in some reasonable measure, the interests of the nation, the government, and academia will be well served.

A third point with respect to finance concerns the basic nature of this proposal. The Task Force would like to urge in the strongest possible terms that it be viewed as incremental and in no sense a substitute for any existing international programs currently being financed by the federal government. We have particularly in mind Title VI of the Higher Education Act, the Fulbright Program, and the international programs of the National

Endowment for the Humanities and the National Science Foundation. All of these have quite separate rationales and justifications that in our opinion richly merit continued and, indeed, expanded federal support.

#### IV. PROTECTION OF THE SCHOLARLY AND THE FEDERAL INTERESTS IN THIS PROGRAM:

Two principal interests of this research and training program are: 1) to make available to the federal government and the private sector the best thinking and findings of the academic community with respect to foreign area and international issues that are of basic importance to the longterm interests of the United States and the international community in general, and 2) to contribute to the development of more and better American scholarship in the international field. In so doing it is important that protection be provided for the legitimate interests of both parties. This program incorporates the following measures.

##### On the Academic Side:

1) The interests of the academic community will be represented by a Council of Presidents composed of the chief officers of nineteen major research universities and a Board of Trustees of distinguished scholars representing eight major world areas and a similar number of major international issue areas.

2) The subject matters constituting the research agenda of fields and topics eligible to receive support will be jointly determined by the National Council and its counterpart Federal Council. No subject can be included on this agenda without the consent of the academic representatives on the National Council. The National Council is interested in the promotion of good scholarship and good training in the foreign affairs field. The types of research it will authorize are of a basic and longterm nature and are, in any instance, the same sorts of subjects that are of natural interest and concern to scholars working in international fields. Examples would be: longterm national goals and needs and national capacities to attain these in the foreign and domestic and public and private spheres; retrospective studies of the longterm record of past national policies aimed at determining what appear to have been the sufficient conditions for failure or the necessary conditions for success; political and economic leadership and organization; religious, social, and cultural movements of international consequence and other humanistic subjects that condition or influence developments relevant to the formulation or execution of foreign policy; public diplomacy; regional and global international relationships and their domestic antecedents; factors affecting the stability, legitimacy, and efficiency of political regimes; issues of national and international security; civil-military relations; social and economic stratification and differentiation; arms

control and limitation; international trade and monetary issues; East-West and North-South problems and relationships; international aid and technical assistance, instrumental problems such as the improvement of the linguistic and foreign area skills of the national manpower pool, etc. It is our fundamental belief that it will be advantageous to longterm national and international interests if the Government of the United States, in formulating its foreign policies, has systematic access to the best possible academic thinking and research on such issues. It should be equally advantageous to scholars to have their views and findings made officially and systematically available to the Government in this manner and thus potentially influential with respect to the actual formulation of official policies.

- 3) The research agenda will be widely publicized and the resultant competition open to all qualified scholars on a national basis. Participation is, of course, completely voluntary.
- 4) The decisions as to which projects are to be funded will be made by professional university-based scholars on professional grounds.
- 5) The Council will not fund classified research.
- 6) The products of funded research will be publishable in normal academic fashion.
- 7) The identities of all sponsoring agencies on the federal side will be a matter of public record.
- 8) The Advisory Group will provide a means for concerned professional organizations to query or criticize the program's policies or programs on a continuing basis.

The Task Force is aware of and takes very seriously the problem of access to overseas research sites where American scholars are concerned. Whatever the validity of such views, it is a fact that some regions and countries look with suspicion and apprehension on the research activities of American and other foreign scholars, especially in locally sensitive political, economic, or social areas. A program devoted to policy-relevant research--even if couched in longterm and eminently scholarly terms--is certain to arouse concern on this score in some parts of the world. What can be done to assuage or minimize such concerns?

First and most fundamental is the record for objective and scholarly performance that the program establishes in actual practice. Advance protestations of purity on this score are not apt to convince all concerned parties. It is, therefore, very much in the program's and the government's longterm interests to make certain that awards are made on grounds that are demonstrably of high scholarly merit. Even so, it is highly

improbable that this will resolve the issue. It should be recognized, however, that the problem has existed long before the advent of this program, and will continue to exist with or without its presence. In some cases it is simply not subject to argumentation and solution on scholarly grounds.

Second, the problem can in many cases be significantly reduced by advance consultations and explanations about the program to concerned foreign scholars and governments. In some cases the National Council itself should undertake such explanations. But so should the community of involved American scholars where their professional friends and acquaintances abroad are concerned. Every effort should be made to preserve and protect the interests of transnational scholarship and, in particular, its access to research sites, materials, and informants abroad.

Finally, in areas where the problem is not amenable to solution by the former means, there is always avoidance. Applications for research support to the National Council are completely voluntary. Scholars, individually or collectively, can always seek their overseas research support from other sources.

On the Federal Side:

- 1) The interests of the federal community will be represented by high-level representatives of the agencies comprising the Federal Council plus Congressional representatives.
- 2) The subject matter of the research agenda will be jointly determined by consultation between the Federal Council and the National Council.
- 3) The program depends ultimately on federal financing.
- 4) Specific provision is made for at least one annual meeting between the National and Federal Councils or their representatives at which an important part of the agenda will consist of a review of the previous year's record. This will provide an opportunity for any corrective measures deemed necessary.
- 5) Particular research projects will be funded on the basis of contracts between the National Council and the researcher's university. It is in the National Council's interest to see that the terms are strictly observed.
- 6) In the course of any funded research project an effort can be made to bring the researcher into association with interested federal representatives for an exchange of views relating to the subject concerned. Such arrangements will, of course, be completely voluntary on both sides.

16

While we consider these protections to be prudent and desirable for both parties, we do not consider the relationship to be adversarial. Our basic purpose is to bring about a more cordial and cooperative relationship.

V. THE PRIVATE SECTOR:

While the present document has been largely confined to a description of the relationship between the academic and the federal communities that the Task Force is recommending, we should note that it is our hope to expand these relations to include the private sector as well. The problems involved are even more complex however, and it has seemed advisable to us to restrict our present activities to the universities and the federal government. We hope later to initiate discussions with the private sector.

3/16/83

REW